WHAT EVERY LIVING AMERICAN SHOULD KNOW ABOUT FALLOUT . . . SEE PAGE 3

NATIONAL GUARDIAN

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THEY COULD LIFT THEIR HEADS IN A DISARMED WORLD

For children like these, going through a "survival drill" in a Topeka, Kan., school, the neutral nations may hold the key (see right).

THE DECLARATION OF BELGRADE

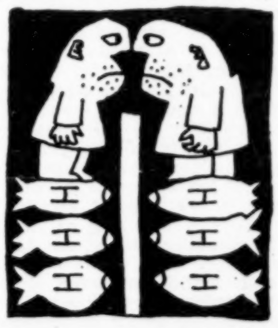
The neutral nations tell Great Powers: We will be heard

By David Wesley

A GLOBAL THIRD FORCE, a decade in the making, to bring the collective influence of the world's underprivileged people to bear against the ravages of the cold war, came officially into being Sept. 6 with the signing of a Declaration of Belgrade and an Appeal to the Great Powers. The unprecedented diplomatic documents were signed by the leaders of 25 unaligned nations, representing almost a billion people and a quarter of the United Nations membership, at the close of a historic six-day summit conference in the Yugoslav capital.

The conference opened Sept. 1 under the shadow of two ominous warnings from the Soviet Union: (1) the blast of a nuclear test explosion in Siberia; (2) an admonition brought to the meeting by President Nkrumah of Ghana from Soviet Premier Khrushchev that war over Berlin would suck into its horror all parts of the globe.

The conference ended with a neutralist plea for a prompt and all-out effort by the great powers to end the cold war. The appeal, demanding immediate peace talks between President Kennedy and Khrushchev, was delivered personally to the two leaders by India's Prime Minister Nehru and Nkrumah in Moscow and by President Sukarno of Indonesia and Keita of Mali in Washington.



Konkret, Hamburg

BRINK OF WAR: "We are on the brink of that danger which threatens the world and humanity," the heads of the non-bloc nations told the Soviet and U.S. leaders. "Having in mind . . . the need to avoid such a development which could speed up the crisis. we . . . appeal to the big powers to renew and continue negotiations in order to remove the danger of war so that mankind can

(Continued on Page 10)

AFTER 7 YEARS, 93% OF NEGRO CHILDREN ARE STILL SEGREGATED

School integration is quiet--but only token

PRESIDENT KENNEDY hailed the peaceful school openings in the South this month as a "dramatic demonstration of progress in improving the position of American Negroes." But others took a different view. **U.S. News and World Report**, for example, headlined its Aug. 28 school desegregation story: "The slow march of integration: After 7 years, 7 per cent."

The over-all picture of school segregation shows little change. About 1,000 more Negroes will attend schools with whites this year, bringing the total to about 215,000 out of a total Negro school population of 3,100,000. Of the 215,000, almost 210,000 are in the District of Columbia and the six border states.

In the 11 states of the former Confederacy 5,000 Negroes will attend schools with whites. About 3,500 of these will be in Texas schools; 1,500 will be in "white" schools in ten other states. Tennessee and Virginia will have 500 each and Florida, 250. Three Deep South states—Alabama, Mississippi and South Carolina—will have no Negroes in schools with whites. In Tennessee, North Carolina, Virginia, Florida, Arkansas and Louisiana, the Negro attendance in integrated schools will be a fraction of 1% and, in Texas, slightly over 1%.

CONTRAST TO '60: National attention this year was focused on two Deep South cities—New Orleans and Atlanta. Peaceful, "fractional" integration took place in both amid memories of mob violence during the previous school year. The calm in New Orleans was in sharp contrast with 1960, when thousands of young people raced through the streets, and mobs of women screamed obscenities at four 6-year-old Negro girls and at the few whites who refused to boycott the schools attended by Negroes. Atlanta had taken precautions against a repetition of the violence which last year had greeted the entry of two Negroes at the University of Georgia in nearby Athens.

The transfer without violence of 12 Negroes in New Orleans and nine in Atlanta to formerly all-white schools no doubt had some effect on staunch segregationists. But, as Claude Sitton of the New York **Times** wrote from Atlanta Aug. 27:

"Peaceful acceptance of the change here, according to some students of the region, may puncture the belief still current in the Deep South that massive resistance can succeed. These persons do not believe this will necessarily soften the defiant stand of the remaining hard-core states — Alabama, Mississippi and South Carolina."

Sitton termed Atlanta and New Orleans the last of the major "moderate" cities to be desegregated. He wrote Sept. 3:

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CIVIL WAR AVERTED BUT THE PROBLEMS REMAIN

Brazil accord may be a lull before the storm

AFTER TWO WEEKS in which anarchy and civil war threatened, Brazil had a President, a Prime Minister and an alien parliamentary system no one seemed to want. The crisis precipitated by President Janio Quadros' unexpected resignation seemed to abate, but the compromise solution was little more than a stopgap. A showdown seemed certain soon.

Joao Goulart was inaugurated as President Sept. 7, but the robes of the office hung precariously and they were not tailored to his taste. Goulart was in China concluding a trade agreement when Quadros resigned. Brazil's constitution established Goulart's right as vice president to succeed Quadros, but the three military ministers, headed by War Minister Marshal Odilio Denys, refused to accept Goulart as president because his policies were "too left." They threatened to arrest him if he returned and they did arrest Marshal Henrique Lott and his aides for supporting Goulart.

DOCK STRIKE: Brazilians began to choose sides. The military took over the airports and railroad stations, banned public meetings and imposed censorship. On the other side, dock workers staged a general strike and tied up Rio de Janeiro port, and other unions also threatened to strike. Demonstrations led by students for Goulart broke out in most major cities.

In Goulart's home state of Rio Grande do Sul, Gov. Leonel Brizola declared for Goulart (his brother-in-law) and organized a citizens' militia. The Third Army, stationed in Rio Grande do Sul, backed Goulart and called on other army units to uphold the constitution.

Denys ordered the armed forces to move against the Third Army and he sent soldiers to occupy Recife in the Northeast, where peasant leagues were supporting Goulart.

REVOLT FEARED: As the lines were

(Continued on Page 4)

The Mail Bag

Foul warning

BOSTON, MASS.

After receiving more money for armaments and approval for partial mobilization, the President asked Congress to consider a permanent disarmament agency. I am reminded of these lines by Bertolt Brecht:

The common folk know if war
 is coming.
When their rulers curse war,
The mobilization orders have
 already been signed.

Florian Weissenborn

Retrogressive

CHICAGO, ILL.

Sent Kennedy the following statement: Peace and Progress—yes! Your destructive, retrogressive arms program—no!

G. Clark

What, indeed?

EL CAJON, CALIF.

Our statesmen shreik to high heaven because the East Germans will not permit their citizens to go to West Germany.

These same U.S.A. statesmen will not permit this citizen to go to Cuba or China.

What's the difference?

Robert Karger

A Governor writes

CHICAGO, ILL.

I received the following comments from our Governor Otto Kerner in reply to my letter telling him of my daughter's participation in a Freedom Ride into Jackson, Miss.:

"Your daughter Leora's incarceration in a maximum security unit penitentiary in Parchman, Miss., for breach of the peace violates an elementary tenet of our body of legal precedent that declares the punishment should fit the crime. The object of the law is to dispense justice, not to exact revenge.

"A four-month sentence in the state penitentiary for a misdemeanor flouts every tradition of our English common law system.

"This action against participants in 'Freedom Riders' activity negates the principles of our constitution and its shortsightedness completely forgets the tremendous liability it places our country under in our day-to-day conduct of the cold war struggle."

Leo Berman

Aside to JFK

NEW YORK, N.Y.

It seems to me, Mr. President, that your voice should be raised to organize the widest possible support north, east, south and west for the Freedom Riders and for an end to jimcrow. Sole reliance on legal processes creates a moral and political vacuum.

Let the nation and the world see you assume your proper role of leader. Let us see you act like a Lincoln or Jefferson rather than like a Pierce or Buchanan.

Marston A. Hamlin

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

MOSCOW, Tex. (UPI)—Residents said yesterday they want the Russians to change the name of their capital. It sounds too much like Moscow, Tex., a 100 per cent American town.

Postmaster W. C. Fancher said Moscow (Tex.) plans to submit a petition to the United Nations urging the Soviets to change the name of Moscow (U.S.S.R.) The Texas community has had its name since 1853. What was Moscow, Tex., named after? Said Fancher, "Moscow, Tennessee, of course."

—San Luis Obispo (Calif.) **Telegram Tribune**, Aug. 24.

One-year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: E.A C., Oceano, Calif.

The Meisenbach case

BERKELEY, CALIF.

Because the trial and acquittal of Robert Meisenbach were so inadequately covered by the press outside the San Francisco Bay Area, we are especially pleased to announce to your readers two comprehensive items on the subject now available from our organization. The first is a reprint of my article in the June issue of the **Californian**, "The Meisenbach Case." The second item consists of 25 pages of reprints of the extensive coverage given the trial by San Francisco's three major newspapers.

We invite your readers to send $1 to the Bay Area Students Committee for the Abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, 1732 Francisco St., Berkeley 3, Calif., for copies of these two pamphlets.

Irving Hall

Public apology

NEW YORK, N.Y.

The organizing committee of the National Assembly for Democratic Rights wishes to make a public apology to the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee for an unfortunate error committed by the printshop in the first edition of the Call for the National Assembly. Omitted was the name of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee as one of the organizations in our country on record against the McCarran and Smith Act. This error had been corrected in the second edition of the Call.

Simon Schachter
Secretary

A book of faith

NEW YORK, N.Y.

With the hope that it may stimulate some GUARDIAN readers to find copies on their shelves of **A Faith to Free the People**, by Cedric Belfrage, and to read this book if they have not done so, or to reread it if they have forgotten it, I send the following excerpts from a letter from a friend in Illinois:

"I have a confession to make: I had not, years ago, finished reading the book. Then I got a letter from an ultra-pious churchgoer, taking me to task for participating in the Easter Peace Walk. She quoted the Bible profusely to prove that Christ was not a pacifist, and that we are justified in the arms race 'because those anti-Christ, Communist Atheists would wipe us out were it not for our military strength'," etc.

I thought of Claude and how he could beat the Bible quoters at their own game, and at the same time show them what Christ's real religion was.

So I took down the book. I spent a day. I cannot regret a moment of it. I realized I did not know Claude and Joyce all these years half as well as I might have and should have. Now I feel so close to them. I feel that I have done nothing when I contemplate the sacrifices of Claude and Joyce Williams ...."

This book is now out of print, and the Claude Williams Committee is eager to buy, or receive contributions of, any copies which the owners are willing to part with.

Marion S. Davidson
Box 29, Old Chelsea Sta.
New York 11, N.Y.

A memorial

CHICAGO, ILL.

Please accept this donation in memory of my mother, Evelyn Hochberg. I can think of no better memorial to her ideals than a contribution to the GUARDIAN.

Keep up the good work! You are an important voice of truth in America. **Ilsa Nan Wexler**

Schwete in the Wall Street Journal
"It's time I was giving you a raise, Benson, so I'm letting you go."

For McPhaul donors

DETROIT, MICH.

Arthur McPhaul, who went to prison for alleged contempt of Congress rather than squeal to the House Un-American Activities Committee on the members of the Michigan Civil Rights Congress, of which he was secretary, is free at last after serving over seven months of a nine-month sentence. Friends raised money to pay his $500 fine.

The McPhaul Defense Committee, which appealed through the National Guardian for money to help pay the household and other bills of crippled Mrs. McPhaul and their teen-age daughter, has acknowledged the donations from all whose names were available (some names and some addresses were not quite decipherable). To the rest we express our thanks through this Guardian letter. The committee wishes in addition to compliment the Guardian on the acute social consciousness of its readers. Readers responded from coast to coast. Any paper should be proud to reach such a readership.

Carl Haessler, Treasurer,
McPhaul Defense Committee

O'Connor on tour

LITTLE COMPTON, R. I.

While en route to the West Coast in late October and November, I would like to meet with individuals and groups concerned about the continued imprisonment of Carl Braden and Frank Wilkinson. Our itinerary includes Oct. 27-28 in Detroit, with stops in Chicago, Denver and Seattle, and anywhere en route where we can help stir public interest in the Braden-Wilkinson cases.

Harvey O'Connor

Homo sap

AGENCY, IA.

In memory glum of Homo Sap:
He nursed an H-bomb in his lap.

M. Warder

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

RESTORATION OF THE BERLIN-ROME-TOKYO Anti-Comintern Axis was nearly complete last week. With the Japanese "peace treaty" under his belt, and enjoying the plaudits of the China lobby, Secy. Acheson joined his British and French counterparts in formalizing the long-taken decision to put Hitler's generals and soldiers back into uniform under the banner of Western freedom. They also agreed to break the four-year-old Italian treaty so they could arm Italy to the hilt.

The separate German peace treaty will give the Bonn government "sovereignty"—so long as it faithfully carries out orders from Washington. It will provide for continued occupation by Allied troops not only for "defense" but against internal unrest; retain an Allied veto over West Germany's foreign policy and trade practices; prohibit any change in the status of Berlin; bar a separate peace.

—From the National Guardian, Sept. 19, 1951

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REPORT TO READERS

A National Assembly

IT IS TRUE, as Prof. H. H. Wilson once remarked, that the American people possess many more liberties than they ever make use of. It is now also true, however, that because of the lack of exercise of those liberties, all our traditional liberties are in danger of obliteration.

This is the implication of the final test of the Internal Security Act of 1950, the McCarran Act, which will take place in the Supreme Court when it reconvenes Oct. 2. The court has agreed to consider a rehearing in this session of its 5-4 decision of June 5 upholding the Act—stayed from taking effect for 11 years by the fight of the Communist Party against being forced under the Act to register itself, its officers and members as participants in the conspiracy of a foreign power to overthrow the government of the U.S.

If the Court holds to its decision of June 5, enforcement of the Act will proceed. Any group having in any particular an objective parallel to any objective of the Communist Party—racial integration and peaceful coexistence are likely examples—may be declared a communist front or communist-infiltrated organization. Thereafter, its adherents must be registered, like those of the CP; its printing presses or mimeograph machines listed with the Attorney General; and all literature, publications and even letterheads imprinted with the designation given to it by the Attorney General as a communist-guided organization. Concentration camps and roundups of citizens are enabled under the Act.

CORRECTLY REP. VITO MARCANTONIO designated the McCarran Act at the time of its passage in 1950 as "the end of the road of American Liberty," and he devoted the remaining four years of his life principally to the fight to have the legislation annulled. Supreme Court Justice Black's resounding dissent this past June saw the purpose and effect of the law similarly. It would indeed kill much of the Bill of Rights if it were to pass into enforceable law—especially the guarantees of the First Amendment of free speech and association, the protection of the Fifth Amendment against self-incrimination and all provisions respecting due process of law.

Yet, though at its passage the Act was opposed by the New York **Times**, the Denver **Post**, St. Louis **Post-Dispatch**, Washington **Post**, Providence **Journal**, Chicago **Daily News** and a healthy number of other newspapers, organizations and leading citizens, the legal fight against it in the intervening years has been left almost wholly to the Communist Party, as if it were a threat only to this single organization.

The patient work during the intervening years of a National Committee to Defeat the McCarran Act culminated in an amicus brief filed with the Supreme Court in behalf of the CP's action, but political activity against the Act has been at a standstill for all the years since the demise of the Progressive Party in 1956.

NOW THERE HAS BEEN CALLED a National Assembly for Democratic Rights, in New York the weekend of Sept. 23-24. It has been called by well over 100 sponsors including (among those who may not have been listed in the GUARDIAN previously) Nobel Prize winners Linus Pauling and Harold Urey, Arthur Upham Pope, the venerable Father Clarence Parker of Chapel Hill, N.C.; Rev. Charles A. Hill and Dr. Henry Hitt Crane of Detroit and many other notable Americans in addition to its prime initiators, Prof. Louise Pettibone Smith and Dr. Willard Uphaus.

It is the purpose of the Assembly to gather to concur on minimum objectives derived from the four dissents—of Justices Black, Brennan, Douglas and Warren—from the Supreme Court decision, and to return to the communities of our country to mobilize a political fight behind this objective.

The Assembly thus far has concurring groups in 20 states—a good start, but not good enough. It is our firm belief that there is hardly a crossroads in all America which cannot boast at least one unyielding Constitutionalist in the tradition of Jefferson and Madison. We urge every reader, in every community and every rural route to which this paper goes, to seek out these men and women and enlist them now for the protest which must issue forth from everywhere in our land for the annulment of the McCarran Act and the restoration of full American liberties—whether all the people choose to use them or not.

—THE GUARDIAN

'THE GENETIC THRESHOLD FOR RADIATION IS ZERO'

The fallout story: There's NO 'safety' level

By Robert E. Light

WHEN RADIOACTIVE ASH from U.S. atomic tests in 1954 fell on a Japanese fishing boat fatally infecting one occupant, the world was awakened to a new danger to its existence: nuclear fallout. Man has since learned that every time a nuclear bomb is exploded, its radioactive fallout will inflict cancers on persons across the world; it will cause pregnant women to have stillbirths or to bear deformed children; it will age some people prematurely; and it will settle its poisons in human germ cells to carry the horrors to countless future generations.

Before the nuclear test moratorium took effect in November, 1958, the U.S., U.S.S.R. and Britain had exploded 174 megatons of bombs. By late 1958, the cumulative fallout reached dangerous levels. But during the 31-month hiatus, most of the fallout in the atmosphere came to earth or decayed. By last month radiation was at a low point; its damage had already been done. But the resumption of tests by the Soviet Union and the U.S. will renew the perils and each explosion will claim its victims.

LITTLE KNOWN: Scientists have made great efforts to study fallout's effects, but relatively little is known. None can say where the world reaches the point of no return. Some measure the victims in percentage of the world's population and conclude that casualties are light. Man will have to learn to live with fallout,

they argue, as he adjusted to automobile exhausts, industrial smog and cigarette smoke. Others, like Dr. Linus Pauling, say even one victim is too many, since man can ban explosions.

There has always been natural or background radiation in the environment and every person is radiated to some extent by it. Surveys have shown that people living in areas of high background radiation have greater incidence of cancer and leukemia than the general population. Radiation also comes from medical and dental X-rays.

Man-made radioactivity is created by splitting the atom (A-bomb) and by fusing hydrogen atoms (H-bomb). When a nuclear bomb is exploded it emits radioactive debris, called fallout, over the area of blast and in areas downwind from the explosion. A portion of the debris is carried to the atmosphere and circles the globe. Over a period of months and years the fallout sifts back to earth, particularly in rain.

About 200 different radioactive isotopes are formed by nuclear explosions. Those with a short life decay in the atmosphere or are harmless when they descend. Long-life isotopes are of particular concern because they are still lethal when they reach earth.

STRONTIUM 90: Of these, strontium 90 is the most dangerous. It resembles calcium in its chemical properties and the body tends to deposit it, like calcium, in growing bone. It causes bone cancer in areas where it concentrates and because it is near bone tissue which manufactures blood cells, it also produces leukemia, a form of cancer of the blood.

Other dangerous isotopes are iodine 131, which accumulates in the thyroid gland; cesium 137, which resembles potassium and is taken up by soft tissue, particularly muscle; and carbon 14, which is absorbed in the chromosomes of germ cells.

Radioactive isotopes enter the human body through the food chain: they land on plants, which pass them on to humans and animals when they are eaten. Strontium 90 is particularly pernicious because it finds its way into cow's milk, a major diet item for children and expectant mothers.

SAFETY LEVEL? Scientists have long wondered if there is a level above which the accumulation of natural and man-made radiation becomes lethal and below which it is relatively harmless. "Maximum permissible concentration" levels based on studies of people working with radium and X-rays have been set by government bodies. But there is no scientific basis to assume that there is a threshold below which no damage can be expected. Studies have shown that persons with well below the maximum permissible dose of radiation have developed cancer.

On one point all scientists agree: There is no threshold for genetic damage. Every dose of radiation harms the human germ cells. As long ago as 1956 the National Academy of Science declared all radiation harmful biologically. As one scientist put it: "The genetic threshold for radiation is zero."

THE RESULTS: When radiation strikes the chromosome of a germ cell, one of these things will result:

- The cell will die and thus the damage will not be passed on.
- The cell will participate in fertilization, but enough damaged chromosomes will be passed to the embryo through cell division to kill it, leading to miscarriage.
- Damaged chromosomes will be transmitted to the child and cause malfunction in birth or delayed malfunctions, which appear in adolescence or later.
- If the damage is to a recessive gene, there may be no immediate discernible effect. But the damage will be inherited and generations later, when persons with damaged recessive genes mate, the offspring will bear the burden of radiation.

Some studies have also shown that radiation causes premature aging in living cells. Also, if strontium 90 destroys bone marrow, it lowers the body's ability to fight disease and thus invites a wide variety of calamities.

DISASTER THREAT: The resumed Soviet tests are reported to be in the kiloton and "several" megaton range. If the U.S.S.R. explodes the 20-, 50- or 100-megaton bombs Premier Khrushchev said it would develop, the results could be disastrous. Dr. Pauling has estimated that from every 20-megaton explosion, 15,000 persons will die and 15,000 deformed children will be born.

President Kennedy announced that initial U.S. tests would be underground, but there is no reason to suppose, as he did, that they will be free of fallout. Explosions beneath the earth may well affect underground streams and contaminate nearby cities.

Underground tests are suitable only for small explosions. Former Atomic Energy Commissioner Dr. Willard F. Libby estimated that a 10-megaton explosion would require a hole 18 miles deep. At that depth rock is so plastic, digging would be impossible.

The **Wall Street Journal** (Sept. 6) doubted that U.S. tests would be confined underground. It pointed out: "Underground tests would not let the U.S. try out its atomic warhead for the 'Nike-Zeus' anti-missile system. . . . And [they] would not permit scientists to work out in detail the effects of large-scale explosions on the concrete silos and underground burial techniques being used to 'harden' U.S. long-range missiles against an attack by the Soviets."

HIROSHIMA AFTER THE WORLD'S FIRST ATOM-BOMB ATTACK
The blast was baby-size compared to those of today's bombs

CHECKUP PLANNED: In expectation of renewed fallout, the U.S. Public Health Service has stepped up its program to test milk and water for radioactivity. Seventy-two milk-testing stations have been established and there are plans to set up 300 water check points.

PHS officials are planning a conference of dairy industry representatives on the removal of strontium 90 from milk. Laboratories have developed a method of removing almost all radioactivity, but it would add 5c to 10c to the cost of a quart of milk.

Experiments in California to remove radioactivity from crops by acids have had some success. But decontamination costs are about $1,000 an acre.

THE GREATER PERIL: However frightening are the effects of fallout from test explosions, they pale when compared with the devastation of nuclear war. Nuclear physicist Dr. Ralph E. Lapp estimated that by 1965 the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. would each be capable of a 10,000-to 20,000-megaton attack. The devastation of such warfare is best understood perhaps by considering the damage of a single ten-megaton bomb, described by Harrison Brown and James Real in **Community of Fear**:

"A surface burst of a 10-megaton bomb would produce a crater about 250 feet deep and a half mile wide. The zone of complete demolition would be about three miles in diameter. Severe blast damage would extend to about nine miles from the center of the explosion, and moderate to major damage would extend out to 12 miles, or over an area of 450 square miles.

"It is likely that firestorms will result from a thermonuclear burst over a large city. A firestorm is a huge fire in which cooler air is drawn to the center of the burning area, elevating the temperature and perpetuating the conflagration. Winds reach hurricane velocities. The holocaust consumes the available oxygen in the air with the result that persons not burned to death may die of suffocation or of carbon monoxide poisoning.

"The explosion results in the instantaneous emission of nuclear radiation in quantities that can be lethal at distances up to two miles, but since persons would be killed anyway by the blast and thermal effects, this is not an important factor. Far more dangerous is the radiation from radioactive products which are produced in the explosion and which are scattered over the countryside as fallout . . .

"The local fallout from a 10-megaton explosion could, if spread uniformly, produce lethal levels of radioactivity over about 5,000 square miles of land . . ."

FEW SURVIVORS: Assuming a ten-megaton bomb on Los Angeles, Brown and Real wrote: "It seems clear that in the event of such an attack there would be virtually no survivors of the blast and thermal effects, with the possible exception of a few persons who had made elaborate preparations for surviving the catastrophe. Their shelters would have to be very deep and provided with a built-in oxygen supply and cooling system. Unless they were able to maintain themselves in such a shelter for many weeks, their chances of making their way to relative safety would be slim.

"A major problem would be trying to get through ankle-high to knee-high ash containing numerous hidden pitfalls; clambering for dozens of miles over huge, smoking piles of radioactive rubble, burned-out timber, wire and steel. If the survivor made it to the edge of the devastated area, he in all probability would have accumulated by that time a fatal dose of radiation which would shortly claim what was left of his life."

2,000 delegates expected at assembly

A DELEGATE ATTENDANCE of 2,000, with a public rally expected to fill the 4,500-seat St. Nicholas Arena in New York, is in prospect for the National Assembly for Democratic Rights called for Sept. 23-24 to launch a campaign to annul the McCarran Act of 1950. The Act was affirmed June 5 by the Supreme Court by a 5-4 decision, climaxing a fight of 11 years to keep it from taking effect (see Report to Readers, p. 2).

Honorary chairmen of the Assembly will be Prof. Louise Pettibone Smith, Dr. Willard Uphaus, Rockwell Kent, Rev. William Howard Melish, Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman and Rev. William B. Spofford of Tunkhannock, Pa.

Information on transportation, hotels, and other details of the Assembly may be obtained from the following local groups:

NEW YORK: Citizens Committee for Constitutional Liberties, 22 E. 17 St., Room 1525, New York City 3, WA 9-6662.
MINNESOTA: Comm. to Defend the Bill of Rights, 690 14th Ave. N.W., New Brighton, Minn.
SAN FRANCISCO: Comm. for Constitutional Liberties, 942 Market St., Rm. 401, San Francisco 2, Calif. EX 7-0382.
OHIO: Citizens for Constitutional Rights, 14112 Shaw Ave., East Cleveland 12, Ohio.
UTAH: Council for Constitutional Liberties, PO Box 1112, Salt Lake City 10, Utah.
WISCONSIN: Comm. for Constitutional Freedom, PO Box 433, Milwaukee, Wis.
LOS ANGELES: Constitutional Liberties Information Center, PO Box 388, Hollywood, Calif. Robert Travis, Secy.
MICHIGAN: Nat'l. Assembly for Democratic Rights, 1306 Holden Ave., Detroit 2, Mich.
CHICAGO: Comm. to Defend the Bill of Rights, 189 West Madison, Chicago, Ill.
MARYLAND: Comm. for Democratic Rights, 1526 Winford Rd., Baltimore 12, Md.
PHILADELPHIA: Comm. in Defense of Constitutional Liberties, 249 S. Melville St., Philadelphia 39, Pa.
ST. LOUIS: Representatives of the National Assembly, 1434 Chambers Road, St. Louis 35, Mo.

THE NEW YORK PRIMARY ELECTION

Wagner's victory impressive, but reform's still only a hope

By Joanne Grant

ONE OF THE DIRTIEST and emptiest primary campaigns in the history of New York City politics ended with an overwhelming defeat for the regular Democratic organization. Voters went to the polls in record numbers for a primary Sept. 7 and chose Mayor Robert F. Wagner as the Democratic nominee by almost two to one over the Tammany Hall candidate, Arthur Levitt.

With the question settled as to who will run on the Democratic ticket in the Mayoralty in November, New Yorkers have at least a slim hope that there may finally be some discussion of issues more specific than the generalized charges of bossism and corruption which filled the air during the primary campaign. Some of these are:

- **Housing.** Disclosures of bribery of housing inspectors, gifts to city officials by suppliers, and misuse of city funds designed to aid in improving housing led to the forced resignation of one city official, Manhattan Borough President Hulan Jack. But the housing problem has deeper ramifications than Jack's dismissal indicated. Glossed over during the primary campaign were awards of city funds to aid construction of three luxury housing projects; displacement of Negro and Puerto Rican low-income families in urban renewal projects with no provision for adequate housing, and other discriminatory practices.
- **Education.** A school board scandal culminated just before the primary in a special session of the State Legislature which authorized the Mayor to select a new Board of Education. Dismissal of the board resulted from disclosures of unsafe and unsanitary conditions in many of the city's schools, payoffs to school inspectors, and petty thievery by school officials.
- **Police and Fire Depts.** These groups came into the spotlight with revelations of bribe-taking and police brutality, especially towards minority groups.

Garel in the Wall Street Journal
"How can you get out of politics—what else are you fit for?"

WHAT HAPPENED: In light of widespread corruption among city officials, the Mayor's overwhelming victory in the primary would seem to indicate that the voters placed the blame on Tammany Hall's doorstep. The Mayor's campaign was devoted almost exclusively to attacks on "the machine," "bossism" and particularly on Carmine De Sapio, New York County Democratic leader.

This tended successfully to divert the charges of corruption away from City Hall. The voters, lacking a third alternative, apparently chose Wagner in preference to Tammany, especially since such respected persons as former Gov. Herbert H. Lehman and Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt threw their support to the Mayor.

De Sapio cynically summed up the campaign: "If the Good Lord removed me from office tomorrow, the Mayor, unfortunately, would be running without an issue."

HOW IT BEGAN: The confusion of the primary began early when Mayor Wagner named his own running mates. He dropped Controller Lawrence Gerosa from the slate and switched Council President Abe Stark from that spot to Controller. After much political wheeling and dealing, meetings with County leaders and with the City's reform Democratic leaders, represented by Lehman, Wagner declared his complete break with the five Democratic county leaders, and the reform movement declared for Wagner. Tammany named its own slate headed by State Controller Levitt. Wagner's running mates finally were Deputy Mayor Paul R. Screvane for Council President and Budget Director Abraham D. Beame for Controller.

ROBERT F. WAGNER
The primary was won, but . . .

Biggest debate of the campaign was: Who dumped whom? De Sapio declared that Tammany had dropped Wagner and the Mayor said he had washed his hands of De Sapio long before.

REFORM MOVEMENT: The primary was the climax of a struggle which actually began in 1958 when De Sapio steamrollered the N.Y. State Democratic convention into naming his candidate, Frank S. Hogan, as the U.S. Senatorial nominee. The defeat of Gov. Averell Harriman and the entire Democratic slate with the lone exception of Levitt in the election that year put De Sapio in the doghouse with many party leaders.

In January, 1959, the reform Democrats formed the New York Committee of Democratic Voters under the leadership of ex-Gov. Lehman, Mrs. Roosevelt, Thomas K. Finletter and Lloyd Garrison. The CDV aimed its guns at Tammany, with De Sapio as chief target. Its goal was to reform the party by democratizing the local clubs. Reform strength was already evident in the September, 1959, primary when De Sapio lost seven districts and carried his own by less than 600 votes.

For the reform Democrats the 1961 primary presented an opportunity to win more district leaderships. By lending their considerable support to Mayor Wagner they hoped to gain bargaining power and greater influence on party policies.

GAINS FOR WAGNER: For the Mayor the alliance with the reform Democrats gave him an air of cleanliness and, more important, provided him with dedicated and seasoned workers—many of them active in progressive campaigns—to get out the vote.

The victory has given the Mayor enhanced prestige and considerable power within the party. On Sept. 10 the N.Y. **Times** reported that a "source close to Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy said Wagner would be consulted on all the potential nominees (12 Federal judgeships now open)." The **Times** said:

"At the national level, Mr. Wagner's victory seems to open the way for participation by the national party leadership in a thorough reorganization of the state party along lines acceptable to Atty. Gen. Robert Kennedy, the President's closest political adviser. The Kennedys want to see a revitalized party capable of assuring a Democratic victory in the state in '64 . . ."

What the victory means for the reform movement is an open question. The **Wall Street Journal said Sept. 7:** "There are clear indications that neither Mr. Wagner nor the professional politicians who mastermind the campaign intend to sacrifice the fruits of victory to the reformers who made it possible." The article went on to quote one Wagner professional as saying of the reformers' inclination to debate issues in open meetings: "This is not democracy; this is chaos. The reformers are undisciplined."

NOT THE PROBLEMS: Some stalwart reformers maintain that "two more years in the woods" with solid work on the local level would have provided the reformers with enough of a base really to clean house.

Four days after the primary there were indications of problems ahead for the reformers. James Lanigan, 43-year-old real estate financier, who defeated De Sapio for district leader, announced that he would seek to replace De Sapio as County leader, but Lehman had already announced that the county leader need not necessarily be a reform leader. Lehman backed Mayor Wagner's proposal that the position remain vacant until after the Nov. 7 election.

What the victory meant for the people of New York is also an open question. The voters had little choice between (1) a machine which they could never hope to influence and (2) a man who had been part of the machine almost to the end and who, in any case, had headed an administration riddled with corruption.

The test would come in the ability of the reform movement to organize in a way that would both buck the machine and force the Mayor to meet its demands.

Brazil accord

(Continued from Page 1)

drawn, the military seemed to have no popular support. Denys could not even count on solidarity in the armed forces. Troops refused to fight against Brazilians and there were some desertions.

Political leaders and the Catholic Church moved frantically to avert a civil war. Some were plainly worried about guns in civilian hands. They foresaw a full-scale revolution as in Cuba. Congress rushed through a constitutional amendment establishing a "parliamentary democracy," under which the president had few powers and a prime minister governed.

NEW YORK

Pete Seeger
at the
Guardian Picnic
LAST CALL!
Sat., Sept. 16
Westchester County
For information call OR 3-3800

Meanwhile, Goulart made a slow march to the capital via Hong Kong, Paris, New York, Montevideo and Rio Grande do Sul. On the way he tried to shed the left label. He bared his chest to reporters in Paris. Around his neck hung a Roman Catholic medal. "Have you ever seen a real Communist wear things like this?" he asked.

He said that he had given up his old proposals for nationalization of private enterprise. Of Quadros' policy of diplomatic relations and trade with socialist countries, over which the military forced his resignation, Goulart said: "On principle, I favor trade relations with the whole world, but I admit there have been some exaggerations recently in Brazil's foreign policies."

ACCORD REACHED: In Brasilia, Archbishop Jose Milton Batista de Almeida and Ranieri Mazzilli, head of the Chamber of Deputies, met with the insurgent military leaders. When the meeting ended, the military men announced that they would accept Goulart as president under the revised parliamentary system.

Goulart struck a moderate note in his inaugural speech and avoided mentioning the military insurgents. As prime minister, he named Tancredo Neves, a lawyer, banker and leader of the Social Democratic Party. Together they named a cabinet composed of five Social Democrats, two members of the National Democratic Union party, one Christian Democrat and two members of Goulart's Labor Party. The three insurgent military ministers were replaced.

Francisco Santiago Dantas, a member of the Labor Party, was named foreign minister. He said he favored Quadros' policy of "hands off" Cuba, friendly relations with socialist countries and discussion of seating China in the UN. "The same basic policy will be maintained," he said, "but without individualistic excesses."

THE NEW SETUP: Although the immediate crisis was overcome, it seemed unlikely that the solution would stick. Many wondered how the parliamentary system would work with a Congress of 326 deputies and 63 senators divided among nine parties. Under the new system, any or all of the ministers may be dismissed by a vote of no confidence in the Chamber of Deputies.

Goulart is to serve until the end of Quadros' term, Jan. 31, 1966. If Congress decides the parliamentary system is not working, it can call a plebiscite in May, 1965. If the system is retained, the next Congress would appoint a new president.

Goulart hinted that he would not wait that long for a plebiscite. In his inaugural address he proposed that Congress put the parliamentary system to a national referendum. But he did not suggest a date for the vote.

MILITARY RESTLESS: If Goulart chafed under the parliamentary system, the military insurgents also saw it as temporary. If Goulart continued Quadros' policies, the war chiefs seemed likely to move again. One diplomat told the **Wall Street Journal:** "There are still plenty of military men who aren't reconciled to Goulart. And I don't think the people who support constitutional democracy are as strong as they appear right now." Another said: "The problem for the military this time is that Goulart has the constitution on his side."

Brazil is quiet for the moment. But its economic and political problems remain. More will be heard from Brazil—and probably soon.

NEW YORK

Kumar Goshal
reports on
AFRICA
• Ghana • Guinea • Nigeria • Tanganyika
Hotel Diplomat, 108 W. 43 St.
Wednesday, Oct. 11
SAVE THE DATE!

EXCERPTS FROM AN INTERVIEW WITH THE SOVIET PREMIER

Khrushchev on war and peace, bombs and bans

In an interview lasting 4½ hours with the New York Times' C. L. Sulzberger Sept. 5 in the Kremlin, Soviet Premier Khrushchev said he favored a new meeting with President Kennedy if it could be fruitful; expressed his view that the European powers would not go to war if the Soviet Union signed a peace treaty with East Germany; and again offered to end nuclear tests and dismantle bomb stockpiles under a world disarmament agreement.

"What the hell do we want with tests?" he exclaimed. "You cannot put a bomb in soup or make an overcoat out of it!"

In the course of the interview, the text of which the Times excerpted for a full page Sept. 8, in addition to another full page devoted to Sulzberger's account of it, Khrushchev affably discussed a variety of topics, including hunting, fishing and moon shots. Of sending a man to the moon, he said the problem now was de-mooning him. The U.S.S.R. had implanted its emblem on the moon; it had no intention of placing a coffin beside it. He also offered an exposition of the difference between peace and peaceful coexistence; and again predicted that the world would go communist.

"I think you will grow wiser," he said, "and after seeing how good life is under communism, you will follow us but already belatedly—we shall have a long start over you." Following are some highlights of the interview:

On a resumed moratorium on nuclear tests vs. disarmament:

FIRST, IT STRIKES the eye that a moratorium is proposed or, in other words, a suspension of tests for three states: the Soviet Union, the United States and Britain. Nothing is said about France. In the meantime France conducts nuclear tests and France is an ally of the United States and Britain and a member of NATO, which is an organization created to prepare aggression against the Soviet Union and the Socialist countries . . .

Second, a cessation of thermonuclear tests without a solution of the disarmament problem would not meet the main goal. What use would there be in a cessation of tests if the arms race continued and war industry went on working full blast creating nuclear weapons in ever growing numbers? The chief danger now facing mankind is the danger of thermonuclear war and it would not be lifted as a result of a moratorium to suspend tests. Moreover, I would say this would be in some way tantamount to lulling public opinion, lulling man's vigilance. People would think something had been done to prevent war while in effect nothing was being done . . .

Besides, the Kennedy-Macmillan proposal says nothing on a cessation of underground test explosions and on so-called explosions for peaceful purposes while these "peaceful purposes" in actual fact mean legalization of tests of atomic and hydrogen bomb devices . . .

We believe that under the obtaining international situation the main thing is disarmament and not a test ban. If an agreement on disarmament and controls is reached, no man of reason will manufacture any nuclear weapons at all and consequently the entire question of tests of those weapons will be eliminated . . .

We cannot remain inactive when the United States, France, Britain and West Germany are mobilizing their forces, when West Germany is demanding that the Bundeswehr be armed with atomic weapons . . .

The leaders of the Western powers are now hypocritically complaining that these tests contaminate the atmosphere. But we Russians have a proverb that says once you have lost your head you do not cry over your hair. Who will believe that these statesmen are seriously concerned over the health of man when they refuse to sign a disarmament treaty, indulge in an all-out build-up of thermonuclear weapons and mobilize their forces for war . . .

Moreover, I do not think the Western statesmen have lost their wits and are prepared to go to war over the signing of a peace treaty. They know what it means to attack us at the present time—it would mean destruction. It is not accidental that even Adenauer and Brandt, who have completely frightened their population with warlike declarations, are now shouting louder than anyone else that there will be no war over Berlin and that there will be negotiations. That is exactly what we want—we want peace.

Vicky, London Evening Standard

"Well—au revoir, Cinders, your two lovely sisters are going to the ball . . ."

On wars of liberation:

THESE ARE SACRED people's wars against slavery and against colonial regimes. And we fully support such wars. Our sympathies are with nations fighting for freedom and independence, and we consider that they have rights to count on the help of all freedom-loving peoples.

When Lincoln drew his sword against slavery he was applauded by the whole progressive world. When I visited Washington I went to the Lincoln Memorial, took off my hat and bowed to him as to a great American. He fought a sacred war, a war against slavery. I repeat, such wars are just and necessary. Our sympathies are with peoples fighting for their liberation and we are prepared to help them in every way we can. That, in brief, is our concept about war.

On his discussion with John McCloy, representing President Kennedy, on the troika principle and whether it would be required in administering disarmament inspection and controls:

IN THAT connection he asked me whether we insisted on the "troika" principle and veto powers in carrying out disarmament and controls over disarmament. I told him that on the contrary, in setting up disarmament controls there should be no veto and no "troika." There should be the strictest control and no one should limit it. Only thus can we insure that no country or group of countries will produce arms secretly or contemplate an attack on another country . . .

On peace and peaceful coexistence:

THEY ARE ALMOST the same, but there is a difference. The word "peace" means the absence of war. The concept "peaceful coexistence" has wider meaning.

It assumes the existence of states with different social systems, their differences being of an antagonistic nature.

The question of the social and political system of every state is the affair of the peoples themselves. This means that the export of both revolution and counter-revolution should be rejected.

Khrushchev urged the U.S. to exhibit toward Cuba the same patience and restraint that the U.S.S.R. does toward Turkey, Iran and Greece, which are hosts to U.S. bases aimed at the U.S.S.R. But bases, anyway, are outmoded, he implied.

YOU HAVE SET UP so many of them that you yourselves have got confused. The most reasonable thing would be to liquidate those bases because they have simply lost their former importance. If Gherman Titov could circle the world 17 times in 24 hours, if today our science has made it possible for us to have nuclear bombs with the equivalent of 100,000,000 tons of high explosive and rockets capable of lifting these bombs and delivering them to any point of the globe, then of what use are your bases?

Moscow rites for William Z. Foster

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, long-time leader of the Communist Party of this country, was given a state funeral in the Red Square of Moscow, where he died on Sept. 1 at the age of 80.

The Soviet Union's top leaders, headed by Premier Khrushchev, attended services in the great Hall of Columns in Moscow's Trade Union House the day before the funeral. An honor guard included Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev, Alexei N. Kosygin, a First Deputy Premier, and Nikolai Ignatov, a Deputy Premier. Madame Khrushchev sat on the mourners' bench with Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, national chairman of the American CP, who had flown to Moscow to place a wreath on Foster's bier.

At the Red Square ceremony Foster's ashes were placed temporarily in the wall of the Kremlin by Mikhail Suslov, member of the Presidium and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party. The ashes will be returned to this country.

1948 INDICTMENT: Foster went to the Soviet Union early this year for medical treatment for a chronic heart condition which had been complicated by a stroke in 1956. The government had denied him permission to make the trip for almost five years, but granted him a passport in December, 1960. He was still under a 1948 indictment under the Smith Act, but had not been brought to trial because of his health. He held the title of Chairman Emeritus of the American CP at his death. His wife Esther was at his bedside when he died.

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER
Communist leader was 80

Foster was born in Taunton, Mass., on Feb. 25, 1881, of Irish immigrant parents. The family moved to Philadelphia when he was 6 and he grew up in that city's worst slum area. He went to work when he was 9. His jobs included those of apprentice stonecutter, seaman, lumber worker, fruit picker, miner and streetcar motorman.

He took an early interest in the radical movement and joined the Socialist Party in 1900 when he was 19. Nine years later he became a member of the Industrial Workers of the World (the Wobblies) and participated in most of that organization's militant labor battles in the West.

STRIKE LEADER: He showed exceptional skill as an organizer and in 1917, under the nominal auspices of the American Federation of Labor, he organized the packinghouse workers and a year later led 200,000 of them on strike. In 1919, again working through an AFL-sponsored committee, he organized and led 300,000 steel workers in a bitter three-and-a-half month strike. Both experiences proved that the mass-production industries could be unionized along industrial lines, and were forerunners to the eventual appearance of the CIO.

He joined the Communist Party in 1921 and for many years was a dominant figure in the development of progressive and left-wing labor movements. He ran for President three times on the CP ticket, in 1924, 1928 and 1932. In 1932 he polled 102,881 votes.

In 1930 Foster led an unemployment demonstration of 100,000 in New York City's Union Square in defiance of a police ban. He and three others—Robert Minor, Israel Amter and Harry Raymond—served six months in jail.

Foster became national chairman of the CP in the early Thirties and held the post until his failing health made the title honorary. He was a prolific writer and besides innumerable pamphlets he wrote many full-scale works on labor, politics and history.

Funeral services for Foster will be held from 7:30 to 10 p.m. Monday, Sept. 18, at Carnegie Hall, New York City.

NATION TO BECOME INDEPENDENT DEC. 9

Tanganyika favors the role of 'neutral'

By Kumar Goshal
Guardian staff correspondent

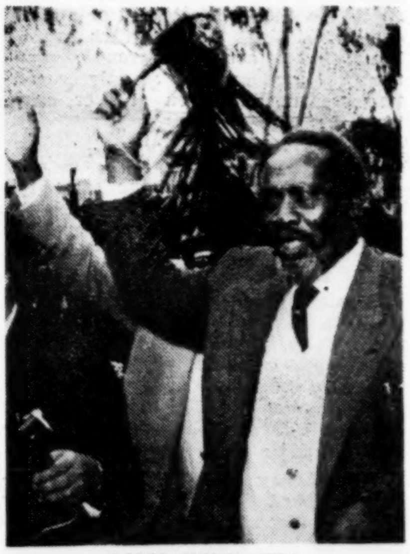
DAR ES SALAAM, TANGANYIKA

WHEN I LEARNED in Nairobi that I was to fly to Dar es Salaam in an old, bumpy two-engined Dakota that almust hugs the ground and makes several stops before Dar, I was unhappy. Later I was glad that the plane took the roundabout route through Arusha, Moshi, Tanga and Zanzibar, because the trip offered a breath-taking introduction to the geographical wonders of Tanganyika.

The plane flew over the snows of Mt. Kilimanjaro (Tanganyikans are unhappy because "the snows of Kilimanjaro" are usually associated with Kenya rather than Tanganyika, within whose boundary Kilimanjaro stands). It flew so low over the fluted ice cliff of the pinnacle of Kibo (19,979 feet) and the flawless cone of Arusha's Mt. Meru (14,979 feet) that I felt I could almost touch them. I got a sweeping view of the crater near Kibo, with the glittering yellow sulphur border of the outer crater and the soft brown ashpit in the inner crater. I could almost breathe the scent of cloves in Zanzibar.

HAVEN OF PEACE: Dar es Salaam in Arabic means Haven of Peace. And the city indeed seems peaceful. Beneath the tropical languor of Conakry I sensed the stirring of a modern city. Accra hummed with modern industry. Lagos was still wallowing in the colonial legacy of dirt and decay. But in Dar es Salaam there is a placid quality in the movement of people and traffic, in the ocean liners berthed in the harbor and in the sailboats drifting on tranquil waters.

The placidity of Dar, however, does not mean that Tanganyika has been immune to the nationalism sweeping Africa. Tanganyika is to become independent December 9. It has a brilliant leader in Chief Minister Julius Nyerere and a smoothly running political party in the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU). It has a three-year development plan, which is to begin next year. Its 362,688 square miles of area hold immense potential riches; and its 9 million people, overwhelmingly African, eagerly



JOMO KENYATTA
Fly whisk means authority

look forward to economic, political, social and educational betterment in the wake of independence.

The placid quality comes from the rather tentative nature of the three-year plan. For Tanganyika has to a great extent linked its development to the East African Federation, which would unite Tanganyika, Kenya, Uganda and Zanzibar.

WEALTH UNTAPPED: Today Tanganyika has the typical colonial economy based mainly on the production and export of primary produce—sisal, cotton, coffee and hides and skins. Almost all the sisal is grown by foreigners. Mineral riches remain largely untapped, as are the vast potential water power resources. The three-year plan, as Finance Minister Sir Ernest Vasey explained to me, is indeed modest: Less than $70 million will be spent, principally on agriculture, water supplies and irrigation, roads and education. The emphasis, he said, would be "on projects likely to yield quick returns in output and income, rather than on long-term projects." He said, however, that the plan has been conceived in the "period of transition from the colonial type of administration to independence" and was subject to modification.

Modification would seem to be inevitable, for Nyerere and his colleagues who lead TANU share the views of Ghana's President Kwame Nkrumah and Guinea's President Sekou Toure.

TANU stands, for instance, for "positive neutralism"— non-alignment with any power bloc. It is opposed to Britain's entering the European Common Market and dragging the Commonwealth countries into this coalition. Home Affairs Minister George Kahama told me that if Tanganyika were tied to the Common Market, its people would forever remain hewers of wood and drawers of water for the industrialized West. More than that, Kahama said, since one reason for Britain's joining the trade group was "to strengthen the West against communism, there might arise the danger of pressure being exerted on Commonwealth countries to support the Common Market's political as well as economic policies."

AID TO REFUGEES: Like Ghana and Guinea, Tanganyika has given political asylum to nationalist leaders who have escaped from such colonial territories as Mozambique and South-West Africa.

As Nkrumah is encouraging a federation of West African states, Nyerere is fostering a federation of East African states as a prelude to a sub-Saharan United States of Africa. For the immediate future, Nyerere visualizes a federation of Tanganyika, Kenya, Uganda and Zanzibar. These four countries already share a common currency, and postal and communications services; their union would give them access to vast human and mineral resources and consumer markets for rapidly building a prosperous economy.

There are, however, difficulties in forming a federation, although all four countries are pledged to it. The main obstacle lies in Kenya, where there is a split not only between the two major political parties—Kenya African National Union (KANU) and Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU)—but also among the leaders of the more popular KANU. KADU President Ronald Ngala does not try to conceal his opposition to KANU leaders. KANU Secy. Gen. Tom Mboya accuses Vice President Oginga Odinga of leaning toward the Socialist countries; Odinga accuses Mboya of selling out to the U.S.; and President James Gichuru hopes his two colleagues will destroy each other.

KENYATTA ROLE: Everyone here in Dar hopes newly freed Jomo Kenyatta—the idol of most East Africans—will reconcile KANU and KADU. Jomo—as all Kenyans call him—has thus far urged unity and refused to favor either party. To prevent rivalry between Jomo and himself, Nyerere has firmly stated his desire to see Kenyatta as the first Prime Minister of the East African Federation.

Another obstacle to federation is the attitude of some of the large group of Indians who have made East Africa their home. The families of some of these Indians migrated to East Africa as long as 150 years ago. Today they

CHIEF MINISTER JULIUS NYERERE'S SIGN TELLS THE NEWS
Tanganyika is a UN trust territory administered by Britain

control important sections of East African trade and commerce.

I spent a day recently with Rear Adm. Soman of the Indian flagship Mysore, which was on a goodwill visit to Dar. We went from one rich Indian's home to another, having cocktails in one home, lunch in another, dinner in another. The drinks were good, the food was fabulous in its variety. But Soman seemed preoccupied. When I asked him why, he said he was disturbed that some Indians wished to maintain Indian citizenship when an independent East African Federation came into being. This, he thought, would cause friction between Africans and Indians. He said the Indians should all adopt African citizenship. East African leaders have pledged no discrimination because of color, creed or race.

ULTIMATE GOAL: Nyerere hopes for a greater federation embracing Tanganyika, Kenya, Uganda, Zanzibar, Nyasaland, the Rhodesias, Ruanda-Urundi, Mozambique and Congo Brazaville. Although tribes speak different languages in these countries, they all also speak Swahili, the language in which newspapers and books are published. Nyerere has turned over the former headquarters of TANU to the Pan African Federation Movement for East and Central Africa, which is affiliated with the All-African People's Conference in Accra. He has brought in the African leader Peter Koniange to head the federation movement.

Because TANU is the only political party in Tanganyika, Nyerere has been accused, as have Nkrumah and Toure, of believing in "totalitarianism." Temperamentally, Nyerere is very different from Nkrumah and Toure. Nkrumah is dramatic; Toure is reserved, almost taciturn; Nyerere is gentle, modest. But Nyerere, like Nkrumah and Toure, remains unconvinced that one-party rule is necessarily undemocratic.

ONE-PARTY RULE: "Too often," Nyerere observed, "we have been ready to accept an Anglo-Saxon or an American definition of democracy, without realizing that in doing so we are allowing ourselves to be sold not simply the democratic ideal but the particular form it has taken in those countries." He believes the Western governmental forms "are the result of history and of circumstances peculiar to the Western peoples," and are "not essential to democracy."

"That cry that 'one-party rule cannot be democratic,'" he said, "can be reduced to its final absurdity by putting it this way: 'If a governing party has been elected by the whole country, it cannot be democratic. Only if it has been rejected by half the country can it be democratic!'"

Nyerere finds historic reasons for the tendency toward one-party rule in Guinea, Ghana and Tanganyika. To him democracy in a poverty-stricken and recently colonial country means a united, single-minded effort for the rapid economic, social and cultural betterment of all its people. He shrugged off Western characterization of one-party rule as "communistic" by saying:

"I am afraid there are too many people in democratic countries to whom logic suddenly becomes illogic if it can be labeled 'communist'. This argument that because a thing is practiced in communist countries it is necessarily undemocratic is too easy. It has become such a scarecrow that the mere rustle of it is enough to inhibit further investigation."

N.Y. rally Sept. 22 aids blacklisted film writers

RALLY TO MOBILIZE support for blacklisted film writers and actors in their anti-trust suit against the producers will be held by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee at 8:30 p.m. Friday, Sept. 22, at Carnegie Hall, New York City. The chief speaker will be Oscar-winning writer Nedrick Young (The Defiant Ones).

KINZUA PROJECT VIOLATES PLEDGE TO THE SENECA INDIANS

To build a dam, the U. S. breaks a treaty

By Lawrence Emery

IN 1794 THE SENECA NATION of Indians, living then in western New York and Pennsylvania, appealed to their friends the Quakers to advise them in treaty negotiations with the United States. Four members of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends made the difficult eight-day journey through wilderness and assured the Indians they could trust the white man's government to abide by its solemn pledge.

On Nov. 11, 1794, George Washington's deputy Timothy Pickering signed a treaty setting up the Seneca reservation which said: "Now, the United States acknowledges all the land within the aforementioned boundaries, to be the property of the Seneka Nation; and the United States will never claim the same, nor disturb the Seneka nation, nor any of the Six Nations, or of their Indian friends residing thereon and united with them, in the free use and enjoyment thereof . . ."

Four years earlier Washington himself had given a personal pledge to the Seneca chiefs: "Your great object seems to be, the security of your remaining lands; and I have, therefore, upon this point, meant to be sufficiently strong and clear, that, in future, you cannot be defrauded of your lands . . ."

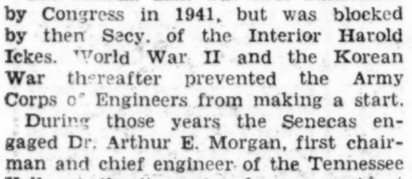
QUAKER VIGIL: Recently another little band of Quakers from Philadelphia was back on the Seneca Allegany Reservation, standing a silent vigil in protest against the government's determination to build a flood control dam on the Allegheny River at Kinzua, Pa., which, if completed, will flood out the habitable portions of the Seneca reservation. In a pamphlet explaining their stand, the Quakers write: "We are shocked that the United States is now in process of abrogating unilaterally—without negotiation—a treaty as solemn and firm and permanent as any we have ever signed."

The Quaker band, calling itself the Treaty of 1794 Committee, conducted a 24-day vigil, beginning Aug. 12 and ending Sept. 4, at the Kinzua dam site. More than 100 persons took part at various times and distributed more than 2,000 pamphlets to motorists on an adjoining highway.

The Kinzua dam was first authorized by Congress in 1941, but was blocked by then Secy. of the Interior Harold Ickes. World War II and the Korean War thereafter prevented the Army Corps of Engineers from making a start.

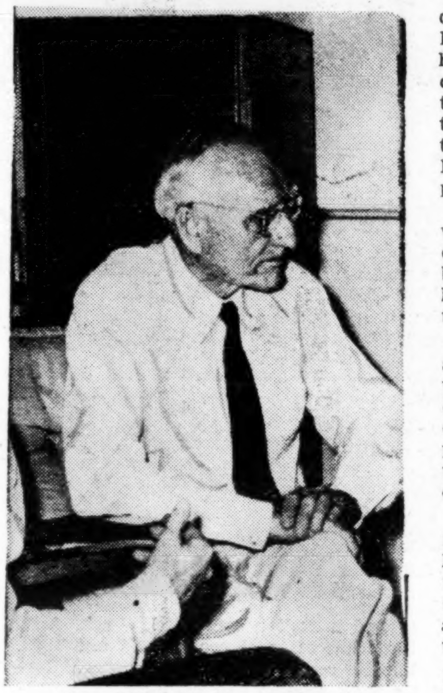
During those years the Senecas engaged Dr. Arthur E. Morgan, first chairman and chief engineer of the Tennessee Valley Authority and a former president of Antioch College, to make an independent survey of flood control problems on the Allegheny.

COURT DEFEAT: He developed an alternate plan to Kinzua which would control the river and leave the Seneca reservation undisturbed. The Army Corps of Engineers hired a private engineering firm in an effort to prove that the Kinzua site was best. Meanwhile the Senecas went to court, but the case there



hinged on the technical question of whether Congress has the right to condemn lands for public projects regardless of treaty obligations. The courts held that it has, and the Supreme Court in 1959 declined to review the decision. Work began on the project this year.

On Washington's Birthday, Basil Williams of Salamanca, N.Y., president of the Seneca Nation, appealed to President Kennedy: "The Seneca Nation asks you . . . to make an independent investigation into the merits and comparative costs of the Kinzua dam and Dr. Morgan's Cattaraugus-Conewango alternative, and that in the interim you direct that the work be halted on the authorized project."



DR. ARTHUR E. MORGAN
He tells of a "colossal blunder"

MORGAN LETTER: Dr. Morgan wrote to Kennedy on March 16 this year: "In fixing on the Kinzua dam site more than 30 years ago, the Corps of Engineers made a colossal blunder or oversight in failing to discover the Conewango-Cattaraugus site, with diversion of excess flood waters into Lake Erie. As compared with Kinzua, choice of the Conewango-Cattaraugus location would save the Seneca Indian reservation, would protect Pittsburgh from twice as great a flood as would Kinzua, and would entirely remove upper Allegheny flood water from the Ohio, thus saving the need for spending probably more than $100,000,000 for additional reservoirs; and especially, Conewango reservoir with its vast capacity would make possible the storage of three times as much water as would Kinzua for increasing low flow in the Ohio River—and all this at less cost than Kinzua . . .

"Necessity will compel the construction of the Conewango reservoir, probably within 25 years. If Kinzua has been built, it will then stand as a useless monument to a hundred-million-dollar blunder, and to the violation by the United States of its unqualified, solemn promise to the Seneca Nation."

THE BEST LAND: Last year George Heron, then president of the Seneca Nation, testified at a Congressional hearing: "The Corps of Engineers will tell you that Kinzua dam will flood only 9,000 acres within the Allegany reservation. What the Corps does not say is that these 9,000 acres include almost all of the flat lowlands and fertile riverbanks, while the remainder of the reservation is inaccessible and thus virtually uninhabitable mountainside. What the Corps also does not say is that during the dry season these 9,000 acres will not be a lake but rather muck and mud flats. What a pleasant yearly reminder, what an annual memorial to the breaking of the 1794 treaty that will be! . . .

"Times have not always been easy for the Seneca people. We have known and we still know poverty and discrimination. But through it all we have been sustained by a pledge of faith, unbroken by the Federal government. Take that pledge away, break our treaty, and I fear that you will destroy the Senecas as an Indian community."

'A DARK CLOUD': William N. Fenton, anthropologist and authority on the Seneca, also made a plea to Congress last year: "Kinzua ('Fish on spear') has been on [Seneca] minds since 1928, and it hangs like a dark cloud above their homes and lands, threatening to inundate the best of the river bottoms and to break up the community which maintains their religious life; it would flood the grave of their grandfathers and obliterate the sacred places where their prophet Handsome Lake arose to preach " . . . The Senecas are a people unwilling to sell their lands and uninterested in compensation. They know from bitter experience that the land is their heritage, but that 'money is soon gone through our guts!'

"How we meet these issues and answer the questions that seem pertinent will be watched and heard by the uncommitted nations of the world. The Senecas, though scarcely 4,000 persons, happen to be known throughout the literate world through the writings of anthropologists . . .

"The Allegheny Oxbow harbors a rare fauna and flora and some wonderful human beings. Before we blot out these things, which to me are worth more than all the smoke of Pittsburgh, let us give serious study to any reasonable alternative."

KENNEDY PLEDGE: When all these pleas failed, the Senecas placed their faith in the Democratic Party's platform pledge to the Indians, and in President Kennedy's own campaign promises. The platform included this declaration: "Free consent of the Indian tribes concerned shall be required before the Federal government makes any change in any Federal Indian treaty or other contractual relationship. The new Administration will bring competent, sympathetic, and dedicated leadership to the administration of Indian affairs which will end practices that have eroded Indian rights and resources, reduced the Indian's land base, and repudiated Federal responsibility. Indian claims against the U.S. can and will be settled promptly, whether by negotiation or other means, in the best interests of both parties."

During the 1960 campaign, Kennedy wrote to Oliver LaFarge, president of the Assn. on American Indian Affairs: " . . . There would be no change in treaty or contractual relationships without the consent of the tribes concerned. No steps would be taken by the Federal government to impair the cultural heritage of any group. There would be protection of the Indian land base . . . Indians have heard fine words and promises long enough. They are right in asking for deeds."

In mid-August Kennedy finally replied to Seneca president Williams. He said he was aware of the "deep sentiments" of the Indians but that work on the Kinzua dam could not be halted because the need for flood control "is real and immediate" and alternatives to Kinzua "are clearly inferior." He said the government would give the Indians every possible assistance required by the loss of their lands.

A CALL FOR ACTION: It was then that the Quakers mounted their vigil at the Kinzua dam site and in a letter accompanying the issuance of their pamphlet on the issue they wrote:

"Write or wire President John F. Kennedy in support of an impartial review by a competent board of engineers and economists to determine the relative merits of the Kinzua plan and the Conewango - Cattaraugus alternative. The President's move to halt construction pending such a review would be an act of courageous statesmanship. Such action on his part is about the only basis for hope at this time.

"Write or wire your own Senators and your Representative. Emphasize that this is not merely a 'local interest' issue between New York and Pennsylvania. It is a question of **national** honor and proper expenditure of national funds."

The New York **Times** applauded the Quakers' action and said it "has challenged the conscience of the nation—and President Kennedy's—in its report on the Kinzua dam. Completion of the dam would be a clear, unilateral abrogation, without negotiation, of a treaty with the U.S. signed in 1794 which guaranteed the Seneca Nation control of its own lands. It would also violate the pledges of both major parties, made in the last campaign, to recognize the rights of the Indians."

The Soblen series

BECAUSE of continuing developments related to the appeal of the conviction of Dr. Robert A. Soblen for alleged conspiracy to commit espionage, the conclusion of the GUARDIAN's examination of the case by William A. Reuben will be deferred for a short time.

NEW YORK

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CARNEGIE HALL Fri., Sept. 22 8:30 P.M.

School integration

(Continued from Page 1)

"The nation may have yet to see the ultimate in massive resistance, for the Montgomerys, the Birminghams and the Jacksons remain. And the rural areas of the middle and deep South have yet to be touched."

EARLY PLANS: But the handling of this year's school desegregation was significant. The careful planning in Dallas and Atlanta, particularly, illustrates what can be done to achieve peaceful desegregation. Atlanta's planning began last spring after a two-year court fight. In 1959 a Federal district court ordered desegregation to begin in the fall of 1960, then granted a year's extension to give the State Legislature time to amend a school closing law. The General Assembly (Legislature) finally backed down after a threat of court action to close all Georgia schools if Atlanta funds were cut off under the school closing law.

Atlanta citizens formed two organizations — Help Our Public Education (HOPE) and Organizations Assisting Schools in September (OASIS)—to campaign for community cooperation in peaceful desegregation. Public calls for law and order were made by 312 white ministers and rabbis and by 419 white doctors. Mayor William B. Hartsfield and Police Chief Herbert Jenkins charted tight security measures which included a riot car on alert equipped with tear gas, clubs and sawed-off shotguns; a deputy and several patrolman and motorcycle cops to be present at each of the schools being desegregated; a helicopter to circle above the schools.

SERIES OF MEETINGS: Superintendent of Schools John W. Letson officially recommended discussion of racial issues in classrooms and a series of meetings were held between Negro and white school principals, supervisory personnel, teachers and finally between Negro and white student leaders.

Dallas made similar preparations and in both cities quiet desegregation of downtown eating facilities was planned months in advance and set to take place at school opening time. Eighteen Negro first graders quietly entered Dallas "white" schools, the suspense was over, and Atty. Gen. Robert Kennedy phoned congratulations to Dallas Mayor Earle Cabel.

THESE DALLAS FIRST-GRADERS DON'T SEEM AT ALL WORRIED ABOUT INTEGRATION
There was natural companionship as Negroes attended the schools Sept. 6 for the first time

In New Orleans on Aug. 30 a Federal court struck down the Louisiana school closing law which permitted school districts to vote to abandon public schools and to give grants-in-aid for private, segregated schools.

On Sept. 7 12 Negroes entered desegregated schools with no incidents, but the white boycott of the two schools desegregated last year remained about the same. Enrollment in four additional schools was normal. Sixty Federal deputy marshals who had been ordered to New Orleans by the Justice Dept. were not called out.

AT LITTLE ROCK: Another spot which gained attention was Little Rock, Ark., the scene of violence in 1957 and 1959. For the second year Negroes entered Little Rock schools without incident. Forty-seven enrolled in three high schools and four junior high schools.

In Little Rock Negroes attend classes only and and do not take part in extra-curricular activities. By a school board ruling they are barred from intramural activities. This year the board turned down a Negro applicant for transfer because he was good enough at football to have made the team. The NAACP has brought suit against the board's pupil placement program, contending that it is designed to thwart integration.

Stuart H. Loory wrote in the New York **Herald Tribune** on Aug. 27: "Public opinion appears to be on the side of law and order in Little Rock. The city was hurt badly in the 1957 strife. Between then and last week, not one new industry came into town."

One positive aspect of the struggle in Little Rock has been the development of a permanent role for the Woman's Emergency Committee, formed in 1958 to fight for the reopening of Little Rock schools closed by Gov. Orval Faubus.

The mood of the segregationist South can be summed up by the comment of the mayor of the city in which some desegregation has taken place (**U.S. News and World Report**, Sept. 11): "We're going just as slowly as we can get away with. But I can't kid myself that the Negro is going to accept anything less than total integration in the long run."

The fact remains that in 1961 93% of the Negro student body, 2.9 million Negroes, are in Negro schools.

NEW YORK

Public Meeting on
"The Berlin Brink and New World Tensions"
Fri., Sept. 15—8:30 P.M.
ACADEMY HALL
Auspices: JEWISH CURRENTS
Contribution $1
853 Broadway, Rm. 16-E (at 14th St.)
Speakers:
- Morris U. Schappes, Editor, Jewish Currents
- Moe Fishman, Secretary, Veterans of Lincoln Brigade and Other Vets Just Returned from East Berlin
- Question and Answer Period

SEATTLE

"When the practice of outlawing parties and various public groups begins, no one can say where it will end." —Justice Hugo Black

Assemble for the Bill of Rights in New York City, Sept. 23 and 24. Objective: To bring together supporters of every plea to rally public opinion for reversal of McCarran Act decisions.

ASSEMBLY COMMITTEE, Marion Kinney, Secretary
Rm. 118, 604 University St., Seattle 1 MAin 2-3557

☐ Send me........copies of the call sponsored by over 100 concerned citizens, including Dr. Linus Pauling and Prof. Louise Pettibone Smith.

☐ Send me ...... copies of the dissent by Chief Justice Warren and ...... copies of dissent by Justice Black at 15c each. $............ enclosed.

☐ Enclosed find $.......... for delegates and organizational expenses.

☐ I would like to help with organizational work. I need more information. Please contact me.

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NEW YORK

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Oct. 8:
Lenin in October
Oct. 15:
Shors
Oct. 22:
Chapayev
Film goes on at 2 p.m. sharp. All showings will take place in
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Tickets can be ordered by mail—New York P.O.C. c/o Vanguard, Box 137, Planetarium Station, N.Y.C.

MEETING
Cuban-American Relations
Thurs., Sept. 28—8 p.m.
CARLETON TERRACE
100th St. & Broadway
Among the speakers:
Corliss Lamont
Conrad Lynn
Melitta Del Villar
Movies Adm. 50c
Ausp: West Side Comm. for Friendly Relations with Cuba

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Camp Midvale, Wanaque, N.J.
NOTE CHANGE: Buses leave 8 to 10 a.m. from KLEIN's 16th St. & Union Sq.

BOOKS

Liberals and (or) leaders

ANY BOOK ENTITLED **Leaders and Liberals in 20th Century America*** is bound to provoke argument. Are these eight types in Charles A. Madison's gallery leaders **and** liberals or just leaders **or** liberals? The word "liberal" itself has been so twisted as to be either meaningless or an epithet, whether from the right or the left.

In its original meaning the word referred to "a free man," but obviously tim has worn this down. The definition could hardly apply to Teddy Roosevelt, wielder of the Big Stick against the little nations of Latin America, or to Woodrow Wilson, who never could find it in his heart to free Gene Debs from Atlanta, or to Harry Truman, who built time's hottest funeral pyre for the inhabitants of Nagasaki and Hiroshima. They must be the "leaders" in Madison's book. More to our gusto are his other characters: Bob LaFollette, Louis D. Brandeis, FDR, George W. Norris and Hugo Black.

The author himself is not concerned with the semantics of "liberal" but with the sweep of history which dragged once-revolutionary America screaming and kicking into the 20th Century. The advance was from the let-'em-alone political and economic philosophy which sanctified the corporations and the corpulent to the rather tepid social welfare state which as late as the 1960s still has its troubles being accepted here while the rest of the world advances toward socialism.

THE TWO ROOSEVELTS and Wilson, Madison recounts, had their hands full in trying to save the troglodytes from themselves as history swept on. The book comes alive when the author abandons Teddy and Wilson to their fate and deals with a man—Bob LaFollette. We live again with him in those "war to end war" years when he was spat upon and reviled until the people recovered from their wartime doping and realized he had been right all along. He and George Norris were grand paladins of progressivism who combined utter honesty, great principles and the ability to get elected—a combination unfortunately lacking these days. To live again, in Madison's chapters, with men like these is to rekindle one's

hope that their like will be seen again, and for that alone we are deeply in the author's debt.

The two Supreme Court Justices, Brandeis and Black, in their exalted positions, lack the popular touch which comes to a public figure when he must face his constituents election after election to test his principles and their understanding. Brandeis' great achievement was to fetch the court into the 20th Century in permitting social and labor legislation, while Black, a Cassandra in these dark years, is earning himself a courageous page in history by battling against our descent into the garrison state. On FDR, Madison of course adds little to our comprehension in one chapter; of Truman, the less said the better.

AN INCORRIGIBLE optimist, Madison entitles his final chapter "The Dynamism of Democracy." It is comforting to know that "with the end of the 'cold war' will come a more realistic attitude toward communism in the United States. Democracy, languishing in an atmosphere of either hot or cold war, will resume its dynamic march. The advocacy of ideas will cease to be a crime; subversive or violent political action will be dealt with not by demagogues but by the local and Federal police power. Once more the good of all the people will become the paramount aim of government."

One wakes up from this euphoric dream and reflects on the Bay of Pigs, on the commandos being trained to prop up tottering Latin American regimes, on the Germans being egged on to get us into their third world war, on the Pentagon's glee in building bigger and smaller and faster and absolutely absolute techniques for blotting man off the face of the fair earth. And isn't is rather sad that the author, in his final paragraph, must still argue against the persistence of 19th Century thinking in the 61st year of the 20th? "There is," he admonishes, "no turning back the hands of history."

What an admonition to a nation which once thrilled the world with its Declaration of Independence!

—Harvey O'Connor

**LEADERS AND LIBERALS IN 20th CENTURY AMERICA, by Charles A. Madison. Frederick Ungar. 499 pp. $6.50.*

An illustration from **Songs of the Civil War Soldier**

A PLEASURABLE COMPENDIUM

The Civil War in song

WITH THE GUSH of books on the Civil War Centennial emphasizing the romantic view of the struggle held by generations of Southern whites, it is pleasurable and instructive to read **Songs of the Civil War.*** This compilation is the work of Irwin Silber, editor of the folk song magazine **Sing Out,** who has carefully put the songs in proper historical perspective to show how the war looked to the Southerner and to the Northerner, and to the white and to the Negro.

Songs by Southerners say that the Rebels were fighting for liberty—the liberty of states to govern themselves and the liberty of property ownership. Silber points out: "Perhaps it seems anomalous to us today that a Southern song should proclaim the 'Stars and Bars' as the 'Flag of the free!/Ere thy sons will be slaves, they will perish with thee.' But Southerners believed that they were fighting for the freedom of the States in the Union to govern themselves and for the freedom to own slaves." Southerners saw no contradiction in calling the Confederate flag the "emblem of liberty."

NORTHERN SONGS for the most part were inspirational and propagandistic to fill the need for unity—such as "The Battle Cry of Freedom" with its chorus: "The Union forever, Hurrah, boys hurrah!" and Julia Ward Howe's "Battle Hymn of the Republic."

Silber has included in his collection marching songs of North and South, songs of Abraham Lincoln, sentimental songs, camp and battle songs, Negro and abolitionist songs, comic ditties and songs inspired by the war. Each of the 125 is preceded by historical data on the composer and lyricist and the events which inspired it.

Silber demonstrates in the book a conscientious search for historical truth. His tracing of the origins of songs such as "When Johnny Comes Marching Home" testifies to the diligence of his three years of research. The book serves those who like to sing as well as those whose interest is purely historical. For listeners, there is a recording of 30 of the songs in the book by Folkways, featuring Cisco Houston, Bill McAdoo, Pete Seeger and Jerry Silverman (Folkways Records F.H. 5717. Two records, $11.90).

IN HIS FINAL section Silber hints at a second volume (which we hope he produces) when he writes: "The Civil War was, of course, never completely concluded. The dramatic struggle taking place in the South today is a constant reminder of the unfinished task which still remains for American democracy. And from that struggle, too, new songs are coming . . ."

—Joanne Grant

**SONGS OF THE CIVIL WAR, compiled and edited by Irwin Silber, Piano and guitar arrangements by Jerry Silverman. Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, N.Y.C. 385 pp. $7.50.*

SYMPOSIUM ON PUBLIC OWNERSHIP

A diffusion of essays

FOURTEEN specialists, plus the editor, Helen Alfred, are responsible for **Public Ownership in the U.S.A.*** The book is divided into three parts: 1. "Public purpose under the law—to serve the people's needs;" 2. "Top priorities — public ownership; national planning; a people's government;" 3. "The most urgent goal is worldwide peace."

Part 1 includes a statement in favor of public ownership and social planning, by Rev. Stephen Fritchman; a description of the scope of public ownership in the U.S., by Simon W. Gerson; an argument in favor of government responsibility for dependent elements in the population, by Leo J. Linder; a summary of a quarter century of public housing, by Alexander L. Crosby;a plea for a national arts program, by Anton Refregier, and proposals for changes in U.S. public education, by Holland Roberts.

Part 2 presents quotations from political figures who favor public ownership; a plea for wide public ownership, by Anthony Krchmarek; a program for banking nationalization, by Victor Perlo; an outline of a U.S. Steel authority, by Horace B. Davis; a demand for the public conservation and production of oil, by Harvey O'Connor; a plan for the consolidation of U.S. railroads under public authority, by Frank Bellamy, and a chapter on public power, by Reuben W. Borough.

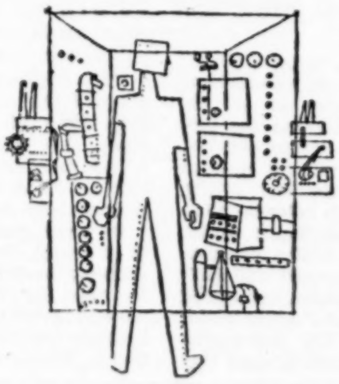
Part 3 consists of an essay by Herbert Aptheker on "Disarmament, Peace and Socialism" and one by Mary Van Kleeck on "Peace Through International Trade in a Changing World."

ALL SYMPOSIA run into the problem of concentration versus diffusion. With a topic such as public ownership in the U.S., this problem is insistent because of the variety of publicly owned property—from forest reserves, rivers and harbors through housing, health facilities and military installations.

No general survey is made in this book, however, and the reader lays it down with only the haziest notion of the present nature and extent of public ownership.

The section on world peace is remotely related to public ownership, but no attempt is made by the editor to show the relationship.

Rev. Fritchman writes that "our



La Gauche, Brussels

economic machine is composed of collective tools that can be operated collectively," either by "free enterprise" monopolies or by "popular government in the interest of all citizens. . . . Without social ownership by the people, no amount of public ownership can work." Krchmarek carries the argument further: "The core of the problem lies in the conflict between the social forms of modern production on the one hand, and the private control and ownership of this vast and intricate machinery of production on the other hand . . . . The solution lies in a transition to socialism, to public ownership of the key elements of the nation's wealth embodied in the means of production. . . . About 20% of the British, 20% of the French and 25-30% of the Italian industry is now nationalized as a result of long and persistent mass pressures. . . . Such nationalization did not result in any fundamental change in the social structure of these countries."

NO PROGRAM is advanced by the writers to implement the proposals for public ownership. In her introduction, Helen Alfred predicts that "in the spring of some near future, and in accordance with the laws of our heaven-blest land, a social system will be organized and controlled by the American working majority, through a labor party." Other examples of wishful thinking turn to improvement in public education, "a labor party," "a people's government." The authors do not refer to the fascist oligarchy which throttles the U.S. economy nor to the superstructure of its political, informational and social controls over public life.

There are many current examples of essays in some general field assembled in one volume. The results are called "books" because they appear under one cover, but organically they are not books. Differing in style and lacking a common purpose, they are frequently neither coherent nor convincing.

—Scott Nearing

**PUBLIC OWNERSHIP IN THE U.S.A., edited by Helen Alfred. Peace Publications, P.O. Box 164, New York 24, N.Y. 238 pp. $1.*

GBS will save you $$$
See the bargains on Page 12

The neutral nations

(Continued from Page 1)

move along the road to peace.

"We especially demand that direct negotiations start between you . . . who hold the keys to peace or war.

"We believe that . . . constant negotiations will remove the present world deadlock and make it possible for the world to live in prosperity and peace."

On Berlin, the conference confined itself to a call for abandonment of the threat or use of force in solving the German question.

In receiving the Belgrade peace mission in Moscow, Khrushchev repeated his call for an international conference on a German peace treaty to end the threat of war in Central Europe. In Washington it was said that the Administration "did not intend to be rushed into another summit meeting" (N.Y. **Times**).

Washington, in fact, responded to the conference with "a perceptible feeling of annoyance and disappointment," the **Times** added. Most capital reporters wrote that as a result of the parley and its final Declaration, the participating countries might have a much harder time getting U.S. economic aid. Kennedy, it was noted, in signing the new $4 billion U.S. foreign aid bill just before the conference's close, pointedly declared that "those nations who have our view of the world crisis" should be favored in administration of the funds.

A BLUEPRINT: The irritation was understandable. The Administration had looked forward to the conference with only mild qualms, expecting a few vaguely worded resolutions on world problems. But the 4,000-word Declaration of Belgrade turned out to be a detailed and radical blueprint for "the transition from an old order based on domination to a new order based on cooperation between nations." It placed virtually its entire emphasis on the ending of colonialism and the launching of world disarmament, the two issues on which the U.S.S.R. similarly plans to center attention at the UN General Assembly session.

"Voicing the aspirations of the vast majority of the people of the world," the Declaration was signed by an emperor (Ethiopia), a king (Morocco), a prince (Cambodia), a mahendra (Nepal), an archbishop (Cyprus), a prime ministress (Ceylon), and by the presidents and premiers of Afghanistan, Algeria, Burma, Congo, Cuba, Ghana, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Lebanon, Mali, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Sudan, Tunisia, the United Arab Republic, Yemen and Yugoslavia.

These neutralist heads of state, representing nations in most parts of the world, had come together on the initiative of President Tito of Yugoslavia. The conference had been organized earlier in the year by a 21-member preparatory commission in Cairo. But the man responsible for this Third Force charter conference was Nikita Khrushchev.

The Soviet Premier's call for a heads-of-state gathering at the 15th UN General Assembly last fall had brought together for two weeks of long and fruitful talks Neutralism's Big Five—Nehru, Tito, the U.A.R.'s Nasser, Indonesia's Sukarno and Nkrumah. From those talks and the concerted Assembly action that followed in their wake, the worldwide Third Force was crystallized from the old Asian-Arab "bloc." The latter had been formed at the UN in 1950 to pressure the big powers into a negotiated peace in Korea—and succeeded. It gained formal diplomatic stature at the Bandung conference of 1955, whose April declaration of Bandung provided the model for the Belgrade document of Sept. 6, 1961.

SPEED URGED: The Belgrade document struck at the basic Western positions of cold war and stand-pattism from every direction. It called on the big powers for speedy establishment of "peaceful coexistence" as the only alternative to "a possible general nuclear catastrophe," and on the small powers for "the further extension of the non-committed area of the world" as an "indispensable alternative of the policy of total division of the world into blocs and intensifications of cold war policies."

Urging "the immediate, unconditional, total and final abolition of colonialism and imperialist domination in all its forms," the conferees demanded "an immediate stop" to "armed action and repressive measures" in remaining colonial areas, and branded as a violation of the UN charter any aid to such colonial powers (France, Portugal and South Africa all get aid from the U.S.). The declaration asked "all possible support and aid" to the Angolans and Algerians, demanded "immediate evacuation" of French troops from Tunisia, criticized U.S. occupation of the military base at Guantanamo Bay in Cuba, denounced South African apartheid and "racial discrimination anywhere in the world," upheld "the right of Cuba . . . to freely choose its political and social systems," defended national confiscation of foreign holdings and properties, and called the maintenance of foreign military bases "a gross violation of sovereignty."

FOR ARMS BAN: Turning to the world military threat, the Third Force leaders, in effect, joined in the Soviet campaign for immediate full-scale disarmament. They declared, "Disarmament is the most urgent task of mankind. A radical solution . . . can be achieved only by means of a general, complete and strictly and internationally controlled disarmament."

After listing the main elements in a dismantling agreement (arms, armed forces, military institutions, all mass-destruction weapons and a control system), the conferees went on to "urge the great powers to sign without further delay a treaty for general and complete disarmament . . . and to release energy and resources now being spent on armaments to be used for the peaceful economic development of all mankind."

The neutralist leaders further demanded that their states be represented henceforth in all disarmament conferences, described as urgent the banning of nuclear tests, and called on the upcoming UN Assembly to convene a world disarmament conference.

In every respect, especially in its sense of urgency, this approach to the arms problem, modeled on a program put forth by the Big Five neutralists last fall, closely parallels that of the U.S.S.R. For example, in the meetings between Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister V. A. Zorin and U.S. disarmament adviser John J. McCloy to set up a new disarmament conference, a chief sticking point has been Soviet insistence on equal representation for the unaligned nations, while the U.S. has agreed only to two neutralist "observers."

ASSEMBLY TO ACT: As a result of this neutralist and Soviet disarmament offensive, Washington is now under pressure to produce a plan of its own for the opening of the Assembly session. McCloy has been grappling with such a plan most of the summer. The Declaration leaves no doubt that an Assembly call for new, expanded disarmament talks will be made.

The Declaration concluded by demanding expansion of the U.N. Security Council and "a more appropriate structure" for the U.N. secretariat to reflect the organization's expanded membership. Reorganization of the world body along these lines is scheduled to be a high-priority matter in this fall's debates.

On China, those participants that recognize Peking voiced a desire to see it admitted to the UN forthwith.

Looking to their own future, the conferees called for consideration of an economic conference of all the underdeveloped countries to plan full economic and trade cooperation and to fight "the harmful results which may be created by the economic blocs of the industrial countries." They also asked for "immediate establishment and operation of a U.N. capital development fund," a project the U.S. has opposed.

With this sweeping charter, the 25 unaligned nations have forged an instrument for the most forceful influence on the course of events by a minor-power group in diplomatic history. The initial test of the Third Force will come at the three-month Assembly meeting opening Sept. 19. And out of that gathering, as Morocco's King Hassan II predicted at the final Belgrade session, should come an ever-expanding Third Force grouping of nations demanding peace and progress for mankind.

Freedom of the press in an outpost of the Free World

The revolutionary court of the junta ruling South Korea sentenced three newspapermen to death this month for publishing an editorial that "helped the Communist cause in Korea." The three, shown in court after sentence was pronounced, are (l. to r.): Cho Young Soo, Song Chi Yung and Ahn Shi Kyu. They have appealed. Have you noted any protest on the editorial page of your local newspaper?

Adam Lapin dies

ADAM LAPIN, Washington correspondent for the **Daily Worker** through most of the Roosevelt Administration and an associate editor of the **People's World** in San Francisco from 1946 to 1957, died in San Francisco on Aug. 24 of a heart attack. He was 47.

At the time of his death he was associate editor of **The Dispatcher**, official organ of the Intl. Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union, and was completing a book about San Francisco. He had earlier written books about Hawaii and Alaska under a pen name.

Lapin began his association with progressive causes as a student and was expelled from City College in New York in 1933 for participating in an anti-war demonstration. In 1951 the State Dept. denied him a passport under the Internal Security Act of 1950.

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Also, MRS. DOROTHY HEALEY, recently returned from the Soviet Union, speaking on **The Dynamics of a Socialist Society.**
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Freedom of the Press Banquet
Guest Speaker—**PROF. DIRK J. STRUIK**
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Send reservations to Freedom of the Press Banquet Comm., Mr. Adrian Scott, chmn. Sponsored by Community Leaders.
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CASTRO'S CUBA, AS IT LOOKS NOW EYEWITNESS REPORT by
Dr. A. J. Lewis, Exec. Secy. Greater L.A. Chapter, Fair Play for Cuba Comm., just returned from Cuba.
FRI., SEPT. 22—8 p.m.
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THE GALLERY

RADIO STATION WITH in Port Huron, Mich., got a frantic call last month from a woman who wanted to know if it was true that Vice President Lyndon Johnson was going to "bomb Germany." A station official assured her that the announcer had said, "Bonn, Germany." . . . The House Armed Services Committee approved a bill to require military enlistees to swear their allegiance to the Constitution "before God." The American Civil Liberties Union said such an oath would be unconstitutional. . . . A milkman in El Centro, Calif., found this note in a customer's bottle: "We are going to have puppies, dear Mr. Milkman, and they're all yours. Our dog is a registered dachshund. You left the gate open and now we're expecting puppies and it's your fault." . . . Mrs. Barbara Castle, British Labor M.P., introduced a bill to give the Minister of Housing and Local Government national power over local toilets. The bill is part of a national campaign against coin-operated turnstiles in ladies' rest rooms. Men's facilities are generally free. Mrs. Castle has wide support. One woman from Ashbourne, Derbyshire, told her that a local ladies' room has a sign: "If unable to operate the turnstile, please contact the butcher at the adjoining premises." . . . A night club offering good folk music and satire is the Rising Moon in the back room of Faragher's lounge in Cleveland Heights.

ALTHOUGH THE WHITE HOUSE insists that Presidential Asst. Richard Goodwin's meeting with Cuba's Che Guevara during the Punte del Este conference was brief and casual, the New York **Times** reported that Goodwin "came home with a humidor of Cuban cigars and a Cuban flag, kindness of Cuba's Maj. Ernesto Guevara." . . . From a Labor Day message by C. J. Haggerty, president of the AFL-CIO Building Trades Dept.: "One vast program undertaken by the Building Trades has been the construction of our missile sites. The magnitude and complexity of the program are astounding and will, when completed, produce the greatest amount of construction ever to be concealed from view." . . . In introducing a bill for a national lottery, Rep. Paul A. Fino said: "As far as our official attitude toward gambling, the United States is in step only with the Communist nations who view gambling as something undesirable in the regimented and brainwashed new socialist man." . . . A reader tells about a stripteaser named Mercedes Bends. Fluid drive, no doubt.

Markey in the Wall Street Journal
"About your college nickname, 'Old Blabbermouth'?"

DURING A DEBATE on his bill to establish a government research center on the propagation of shellfish, Rep. John Dingell (D-Mich.) began an explanation of how oysters and clams are propagated artificially when Rep. Clare Hoffman (R-Mich.) rose to warn his colleague that "there are many teen-agers who read the [Congressional] Record." As Hoffman, who is 85, took his seat, Rep. H. R. Gross (R-Ia.) commended him for his "biological knowledge." Hoffman answered: "The gentleman has reached the age where he should not be interested in that." . . . The latest fad among the Hollywood set is a "tranquilizing amulet," made of onyx, an inch wide and 2½" long. Alfred Dunhill of Beverly Hills offers it for $5, including a fancy box. A Dunhill representative explained that the idea is to sit back, relax and squeeze the stone in your hands until all animosities are gone. If that doesn't help, a New Jersey company has packaged a variety of liquors in military weapons containers. For example, you can get rye in a hand grenade, gin in a rocket, bourbon in a dynamite stick, scotch in an artillery shell, and vodka in a time bomb. . . . A reader wrote to columnist Ray Tucker in the Hudson, N. J., **Dispatch**: "Will government spending to defend Berlin start a new boom? If so, I would like to start a restaurant near a plane factory, a shipyard or other booming business."

—**Robert E. Light**

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NEWSPAPER

the SPECTATOR

Britons and Berlin

WHAT DO THE ORDINARY people of Britain think as they note the mounting tension in Berlin and are told by the BBC that they should be as ready as the Americans to endure nuclear war in defense of "freedom?"

The newspapers are not a reliable guide, but they have shown the effect of public pressure. When the crisis first developed, the papers carried inspired stories from Washington about the readiness of the U.S. to risk nuclear war rather than make a single concession, even if it was only accepting East German instead of Soviet rubber stamps on travel permits. But gradually they began to change their tune. There was a general demand for negotiations and anger at the lack of initiative by the British government. Several papers denounced French President de Gaulle for opposing negotiations.

There was also a marked change in the reporting from Berlin. At first, the stories about "poverty in East Berlin and luxury in West Berlin" were dragged out; and BBC television promised programs about the "food queues in East Berlin." Then one reporter disclosed that the only food shortage in East Germany he could find was of potatoes, which are often short in Britain at that time of year. Butter was rationed, but not severely. The press began to reflect the fact that the East Germans are well fed and well clothed.

"Uncle Theodore was dead against the unification of Germany in 1870 and he says that nothing that's happened since has encouraged him to chance his mind."

WILLIAM FORREST of the **Daily Mail**, a bitter opponent of the socialist countries, told about demonstrations in West Berlin in an article on Aug. 28. He said if he had reported on the situation in the same cursory manner as U.S. Vice President Johnson, he would be sacked and deservedly so. He quoted a high British officer, who described a West Berlin demonstration as "provocation" and added, "I'm not going to be dragged into World War III by a bunch of Berlin teen-agers if I can help it." And of these demonstrators Forrest commented:

"Looking on, I wondered. These young toughs—had they been born a generation sooner, wouldn't you have found them in Hitler's brownshirt army, beating up the 'dirty Jews'?"

The West Germans recently sent out a booklet from their London embassy to coincide with the arrival of their first troop contingent in Wales. The leaflet declared that the German High Command was in no way to blame for Hitler's war, and that the generals were infamously treated by the allies after the German surrender. The booklet blamed the West for "stupidity in disbanding what remained of the German army because it was obviously needed to stem further Russian advances."

The **Daily Express** published this information with caustic comment, and the next day the West German embassy conveniently ran out of copies of the leaflet.

IN THE FACTORIES, MINES AND OFFICES and in the ordinary conversations, criticism of Western policies is sharp. Recently, W. Turner, Conservative candidate for Feltham, a London suburb, told a meeting, "Britain must be prepared to fight a nuclear war in order to keep Berlin free." A young woman who heard the speech wrote a letter of protest to the local paper, the Middlesex **Chronicle.** Within a week, the paper had carried two columns of letters, all protesting.

"I wish Mr. Turner could fight his war alone," said one letter. Another from a teacher cited the "two wars caused by German militarism" and asked, "Are we mad?" Another recalled the propaganda of Goebbels, said West Germany seems still to be under its influence, and added "Berlin calls for sensible, down-to-earth discussions with the Russians."

The paper published no letters supporting Turner, obviously because his view has little support among the people.

THE PUBLIC RESPONSE TO THE YOUTH PILGRIMAGE from blitzed Coventry to Castlemartin, where the German troops are stationed, is equally significant. All along the route the marchers were welcomed by civic leaders and cheered by the people.

This was not an anti-German demonstration. Its aim was to protest the link-up of the Western governments with German militarism and with the generals and politicians who participated in Hitler's crimes. The Berlin crisis has drawn attention to the other Germany which opposes the militarists in the West and seeks peace and disarmament. Understanding of the position of the German Democratic Republic is growing among the British people, despite all the hostile propaganda. A film produced in the GDR about Globke, architect of the laws for the persecution of the Jews, and now Adenauer's assistant, has been banned by the censor, but there is no law to stop private showings. And those who see it learn some of the realities of the Berlin problem.

On the whole, the British people seem determined not to march with the Nazi generals and the politicians of Western Germany, and they are making this known.

—**Gordon Schaffer**